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WHOM THE GODS WOULD DESTROY

THE EDITORS

THE MANY FACES OF CHINA

KEITH M. BUCHANAN

Day of Decay

JEANNE RIHA

EDITORS . . . LEO HUBERMAN . . . PAUL M. SWEEZY

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

Do you know that there were 95 million more people in the United States in 1957 than in 1900 but that 200 fewer non-fiction books were published? Is it the fault of the people or the publishers? MR Press is going on the theory that the publishers are at least in part to blame, and that many more good books could be written and sold than are now being published. But the distribution machinery is largely closed to us, so it is hard to give the theory a fair test. That's where we need *your* help. Have you done all you can to increase the sale of MRP books? If you have, or if you haven't, this is a good time to take advantage of the big bargains in our Tenth Anniversary Sale (see pages 16-17).

As part of our program to bring to U.S. readers the observations and analyses of China by highly qualified foreigners we publish in this issue Professor Buchanan's thoughtful piece, "The Many Faces of China." And we want to remind those readers who asked that our previous articles on the subject be "made into a pamphlet" that our booklet "China Shakes The World Again" (see p. 15 for contents) is now available at $1 per copy. Another collection of authoritative articles is contained in the pamphlet "What's Going On In China?" published at 25c per copy by the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa. Readers whose subs are about to expire please remember that our "China Shakes" booklet is sent *free* to all those who join the Associates.

(*continued on inside back cover*)

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WHOM THE GODS WOULD DESTROY

There is a time for everything, as the Bible reminds us, and now, when East-West negotiations over Berlin and Germany are about to open, is a time to remember some key facts of recent history.

(1) Russia was one of the losers in World War I. It was her military collapse and subsequent weakness that enabled the victorious Western powers to impose a European settlement which they thought would both guarantee their own hegemony and prevent the spread of the revolutionary virus from its Soviet breeding ground. The key to this settlement was a string of Western satellites in Eastern Europe. They were to do double duty as a safeguard against renewed German expansionism and as a *cordon sanitaire* against the Soviet Union. When German expansionism again became a reality, however, the safeguard proved to be a sham. Munich showed that the Western powers were willing to sacrifice their satellites to push Germany eastward. The Russians have not forgotten any of this. None of them would ever dream of helping to create a situation in which the same thing might happen again.

(2) The Soviet Union was one of the victors of World War II. At the end of the war the Red Army was in the middle of Europe and firmly controlled the eastern half of Germany. Henceforth, no European settlement unacceptable to the Soviet Union was possible.

(3) Ever since 1945, American policy has been to reimpose the World War I settlement on Europe and on the Russians. That is the meaning of "liberation" for Eastern Europe and "reunification in freedom" for Germany. It was and remains an utterly unrealistic policy.

(4) In pursuit of this unrealistic policy, America has encouraged the building up of military power in West Germany. The West German army is already the strongest of any of the continental NATO countries, and Washington is now proposing the nuclear armament of West Germany.

This is the background of the present crisis, which the Russians deliberately precipitated. Their purpose, we may be sure, was not simply to seek a redefinition of the status of Berlin but to force the Western powers to negotiate seriously about a European settlement which would take realistic account of the outcome of World War II.

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And their timing, it is probably safe to assume, is designed to get the negotiations under way before West Germany acquires atomic weapons. After that happens there will not be much left to negotiate about—at least not among the Big Four as at present constituted.

This is not meant to imply that the nuclear armament of West Germany would finally result in success for American policy. Far from it. But it would mark the close of one era of international relations and the opening of another. In the new era it would no longer be possible for the allies of World War II to shape a European settlement. Thanks to the Common Market and related schemes, West Germany is already on the way to economic dominance of Western Europe. If and when it acquires atomic weapons, it will have got about all it can expect from the NATO alliance and vassalage to Washington. West Germany, in short, will emerge as an independent power rivaling if not yet equaling the United States both economically and militarily. Negotiations for a European settlement will then take place between Bonn and Moscow.

We need not speculate on what such a settlement would look like, but we should note that each side would have plenty of bargaining counters and that both would have a common interest in reducing the economic strength and undermining the international prestige of the United States.

It may be asked why, if all this is true, Moscow is so anxious to negotiate a settlement before West Germany gains its independence. The answer of course is that the Russians do not trust the Germans and would much prefer that they should be prevented from acquiring atomic weapons. Moscow would rather deal with Washington than with Bonn. But if Germany is going to get nuclear arms anyway, Moscow will undoubtedly draw the necessary conclusions. This, of course, is why Bonn is so anxious to sabotage negotiations at this stage. Later on it will be a different story—and the negotiations will have a different character too.

If the foregoing reasoning is correct, it seems legitimate to say that the danger of war over Berlin has never been as great as seems generally to have been assumed. The Soviet Union wants to negotiate with the other victors of World War II *now,* while there is still something to negotiate about, and chose Berlin as an effective opening gambit. But Berlin is not the issue, and to go to war over Berlin would make no sense at all from the Soviet point of view. We can go further and say that even if the forthcoming negotiations fail and

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the Americans persist in the policy of arming West Germany with nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union is unlikely to react in a militarily threatening manner. The reason is that Moscow has an alternative policy to fall back on—that of negotiating a European settlement with Bonn rather than with Washington.

Does Washington also have an alternative policy to fall back on in case the negotiations with Moscow fail? If so, we have not yet been able to figure out what it is or might be. The truth—however paradoxical it may sound to most Americans—would seem to be that the United States can continue to play a large role in European affairs only by reaching some kind of an understanding with the Soviet Union. For once Moscow and Bonn get together, it will be only a matter of time until the foundations of American power in Europe crumble and disintegrate.

In this perspective, American policy and diplomacy have a fantastic through-the-looking-glass quality about them. Standing firm is an admirable posture, but only if there is something firm to stand on. Anyone who stands firm in a quicksand is either pathetic or ridiculous. And anyone who angrily denounces as aggression every offer to help find a way out of the quicksand is crazy. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that America's European policy today is all three—pathetic, ridiculous, and crazy. To meet an imaginary Soviet military threat, the United States is building up and arming West Germany to the point where it will be strong and independent enough to make a deal with the Soviet Union, throw us out of Western Europe, and become a serious challenger for the dominant position in the capitalist world. When the Soviet Union in effect tells us that it would prefer to make a deal with us rather than with the Germans, that it would rather see Germany militarily weak and neutralized than powerful and aggressive, and when the Soviet leaders prod us to discuss this alternative possibility with them—when these things happen, we scream aggression, strike heroic poses, and no doubt behind the scenes hasten the German buildup.

How account for this kind of behavior? Taken with all its ramifications, this is one of the most interesting and important questions that can be asked about American society today. It is a question which American social scientists (with a few isolated exceptions) have never asked, for the simple reason that it never occurs to them. Most of them are actually or potentially a part of the apparatus that makes American policy, and it quite naturally appears to them to be in the

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main rational and sensible. American social science is part of the problem that needs investigation: to expect it to provide the answers would be as unreasonable as it would be unrealistic. Nor can we attempt to do the job here. Nevertheless, we would like to call attention to two factors which certainly would have to be accorded an important place in any complete explanation.

First, it must never be forgotten that American capitalism needs the cold war — the alternatives are economic collapse or drastic social reform — and the ruling class, probably inevitably, comes to believe in the validity of the ideas and theories which provide the rationale and justification of the cold war. First and foremost among these is the notion of the Russians' eternally vigilant propensity to pounce on and "take over" all and sundry. Against this, there is only one possible protection, the building up of maximum military power in all threatened areas. Once this idea takes hold, it rides roughshod over all counsels of moderation or compromise. After all, who in his right mind would deny that if you have a neighbor who is just waiting for an opportunity to attack you, you had better keep a loaded gun on hand at all times?*

A second reason for this country's crazy European policy arises from our vastly inflated conception of our own position and role in the world. Like many other peoples throughout history, Americans have always been convinced that they are the elect of God, and in our case the divine mission has usually been thought of as quite literally one of world leadership. We were always invincible, and by the end of World War II we were pretty close to omnipotent too — or at least so it seemed, and so most of us came to believe.

Sputnik, of course, dealt this myth a shattering blow, but it did not provide us with any reasonable perspective in which to view ourselves in relation to the rest of the world. For the image of an all-powerful America we substituted the image of two giants struggling for world leadership in a kind of cosmic duel between the forces of

* For those who cannot swallow the theory of the Russian propensity to aggress in its pure form, there is another version that works almost as well. You *assume* that the Russians are about to march and then ask what would be the appropriate policy if this were true. The answer, of course, is maximum military preparedness. You then ask whether anyone can be *sure* that the Russians are *not* about to march and whether it is safe to stake the nation's safety on a mere hunch. The fact that anything can be "proved" by this method of argumentation does not seem in the least to diminish its effectiveness.

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light and the forces of darkness. In this morality play there is no role for other nations or peoples except as actual or potential satellites of either the United States or the Soviet Union. We think we can ignore China, despite the fact, which should be obvious to a school boy, that it is certain to be the strongest country in the world in the historically near future. India, which also has a highly impressive potential, is treated as just another backward country trying to make up its mind which camp to join. The upheavals and struggles which are now wracking Africa and the Middle East are damned nuisances but not much more.

Given this way of looking at the world, it is not surprising that we simply cannot imagine Germany's rising to challenge our leadership of the capitalist camp. And yet that is precisely what is happening. Between the Elbe and the Atlantic (not including Great Britain) there are many more people than there are in the United States, and their command of science and technology is on a par with ours. Their relative weakness in the past has stemmed from what may be broadly called organizational failures. In the Common Market, however, we can now see the shape of a united capitalist Western Europe under German leadership. What reason in the world is there for assuming that it must always remain inferior in strength, let alone politically subordinate, to the United States?

Ideology, as Marx and Engels originally used the term, is a *false* consciousness based on an interpretation of reality in terms of the special experience and particular interests of a dominant class. When it is in the ascendant, even an exploiting class may be able to see reality non-ideologically, that is to say, with sufficient clarity and objectivity to be able to understand what types of action are capable of promoting its true long-run interests. But the thought processes of a declining class inevitably become more and more ideological. Class interests and human interests become increasingly divorced; action to promote the one becomes less and less compatible with action to promote the other. In these circumstances, it becomes the function of ideology to disguise or hide the contradiction, and in so doing it perverts and distorts reality — eventually to the point where *any* form of rational action becomes impossible. This is the essential truth which is so concisely and brilliantly summed up in the Greek aphorism: *Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad.*

The development of American foreign policy in recent years provides a textbook example of this process. American policy no longer

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promotes America's international interests, however narrowly defined. It does just the opposite. And the reason is that the American ruling class quite literally does not understand what is happening in the world. The first necessity of American capitalism is the cold war, a fact which no beneficiary of the system could afford to admit, even to himself. The ideology which has been developed to disguise this fact involves the most monstrous distortions of reality. Is it any wonder that courses of action based on this ideology turn out to be disastrous and self-destructive failures?

THE KING IS NAKED

A favorite bourgeois stereotype is of the other-worldly scientist immured in his equations and immersed in his beakers and test tubes. In matters of this world he is supposed to be as innocent and naive as a child.

Well, it took a child in the fairy story to point out that the king was naked. Wouldn't it be peculiarly appropriate if scientists were to come up with some similarly awkward truths about our society?

This was the thought that came to us when we recently read a story in *The New York Times* (March 21) under the headline, "Two Scientists Question Value of Space and Missile Program." Judge for yourself:

> PASADENA, Calif., March 20 (AP)—A conference of scientists at California Institute of Technology was thrown into an uproar late today when speakers began questioning the value of America's missile and space research.
>
> "Our missile program is the swan song of a dying civilization," shouted Dr. A. R. J. Grosch from the floor near the close of the conference.
>
> "We don't need better missiles to destroy each other—the ones we have now will do the job adequately.
>
> "And there isn't any point in zooming off into outer space. We could spend the money better solving problems here at home—taking care of our overcrowded, underfed millions. If we did that, we wouldn't need to find new worlds to colonize."

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Dr. Grosch is manager of space programs for the International Business Machines Corporation, which makes computers for missiles and space vehicles.

His outburst followed a speech by Dr. Louis J. Ridenour Jr., who said the missile program was following America's "traditional economy of waste."

"We turn in our cars before they are worn out," he said, "and our nation would go broke if we didn't. Our missile program fits into the system very well. We send up missiles that never come back, and so we have to make more missiles.

"This is fine. It creates jobs and keeps money in circulation.

"In the not too distant future, man will be boarding the other fellow's satellites and destroying them. This means more satellites must be built, and the economy is kept functioning at top speed."

Dr. Ridenour is assistant general manager of research and development in the missile systems division of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation.

Then Dr. Grosch rose.

"We are planning to spend millions of dollars a year on new missiles and space probes," he said. "And I ask why?

"Why must we continue to shovel these millions into companies that are interested primarily not in new scientific knowledge but in their 7 percent profit? That 7 percent alone would go a long way toward solving the social problems that create warfare and make space exploration and colonization a necessary.

"We are in a bad way, I'm afraid," said Dr. Grosch, "when we try to solve our problem by mass killing—or by paddling off to a bigger island in space."

The next day the *Times* ran another story, this time datelined Binghamton, New York, headquarters of the military products division of IBM. The gist of the story was that IBM wanted to dissociate itself from Dr. Grosch's views. The last paragraph read: "A spokesman for IBM said there were no plans to dismiss Dr. Grosch, who is manager of space programs for the military products division."

It would be interesting to know what has happened since. Can a big American corporation like IBM really tolerate in its midst a scientist who has the temerity to stand up and pronounce the modern equivalent of "The king is naked"?

(April 10, 1959)

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THE MANY FACES OF CHINA

BY KEITH M. BUCHANAN

I went to China in October 1958 at the invitation of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The purpose of the trip was to meet Chinese geographers, to discuss with them the exchange of geographical material, and to see something of the changing geography of China. I started from Canton, in the Pearl River lowland, sub-tropical China with its fields of rice and sugar cane, its banana and bamboo groves. I flew over the broken hill country of the south, where long fingers of irrigated ricefields probe into the uplands. I crossed the great lowland of central China, where the intricate pattern of ricefields is like a design in green and gold and gray cloisonné enamel, and over the ridges of the Central Mountain Belt into North China. Here rice gives way to wheat and millet; the flowing lines of the paddy field are replaced by the gridded pattern of the dry crops which occupy every inch of this crowded yellow earth countryside. From Peking I crossed the mountains of Shansi to Sian, in the cradle area of Chinese culture; then over the rolling yellow, violet-shaded hills of Shensi to Lanchow on the desert margins of Central Asia. Then south into Szechuan whose red-soiled hills have been transformed into a staircase of terraces and where the sheltering mountains and blanketing clouds give a hothouse atmosphere in which twelve crops of vegetables a year can be grown. From Chengtu in the Red Basin I went southwest to Kunming, set beside its blue lake on the sunwashed orange-soiled tableland of Yunnan. My final trip took me over the fantastic pinnacled limestone country of Kwangsi to Nanning on the southern margins of China and over the border into the Red River lowland, the heart of Vietnam.

The Diversity of China's Physical Background

The spread of Chinese power over the centuries welded together an area as big as Europe — an area extending the distance from Moscow to southern Arabia, from almost 1000 feet below sea level in Cen-

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tral Asia to 29,000 feet in the Himalayas. The Chinese people were thus faced with a wide diversity of environments, each offering particular challenges or opportunities. Today, one of the most fascinating aspects of China is the re-evaluation of these environments in the light of new, vastly improved, technologies.

There is a basic contrast between agricultural China, or Inner China, and non-agricultural or Outer China. In Outer China lack of rain, or cold, or difficult terrain make the area unsuitable to the Chinese cultivator; this is the domain of the pastoral nomad or of the oasis cultivator. Within this area there is again a duality — the high level deserts of the Tibetan plateau contrasting with the desert basins of Central Asia and the Gobi, with their scorching summers and bitter winters. Agricultural China is, broadly, China south and east of the Great Wall. Here rainfall is sufficient for cultivation, and, though much of the area is mountainous, there are wide lowlands and great alluvial and loess plains. Chinese cultivation is lowland cultivation and over the centuries these lowlands have accumulated people and every square yard is cultivated. The hill areas, by contrast, have repelled the farmer, are thinly peopled, and have for centuries been ravaged for their timber, and the very grass roots have been dug for fuel. Agricultural China, too, shows another duality. North China is climatically marginal for rice and its soils are too porous; it is the region of wheat and millet and soybeans and cotton. South China is the land of rice and tea and bamboo, its winter greenness contrasting sharply with the tawny landscape of the North. The extreme South is subtropical, a land of bananas and pawpaws and lush forests, a land sufficiently warm and moist to yield two crops of rice a year.

The last decade has brought a reassessment of the potentialities of these environments. The mountains and basins of the thinly-peopled interior are rich in metallic minerals and oil; their glacier-fed streams are potential sources of irrigation water. The investigation of these resources is being carried out partly by geography students from the local universities. New patterns of industry and agriculture are emerging; above all, along the old Silk Road from Lanchow to Central Asia a great new mining and metallurgical base is coming into being. Afforestation on a vast scale is transforming the hill country of agricultural China, shelter belts and terraced planting of trees are clothing in green the bare hills and plateaus of China's arid margins. Man is on the offensive, is creating a new vegetation pattern and through his irrigation and flood control schemes, is removing one of

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the major factors responsible for poverty, China's erratic river regimes. Progress on the lowlands makes possible rational use of the hill land; as yields are pushed up in the lowlands the old need to bring more and more marginal hill country under crops disappears and the hill country can be afforested or planted to fruit trees.

Here is one of the great changes in the Chinese scene. Scientists with whom I discussed the matter were quite positive that the results of the 1958 harvest demonstrated conclusively that, with the new techniques, it would be possible to meet the expanding food needs of China's population by intensified utilization of the areas most suited to agriculture; that, far from having to look for new agricultural land, they could afford to allow marginal arable land to be diverted to other, more suitable, types of use. I shall discuss this later.

Prediction is notoriously hazardous, but on the basis of what I saw I would expect the future to bring an increasingly sharp differentiation between the arable economy of the lowlands, becoming increasingly labor-intensive and horticultural in character, and the forest and pastoral economies of the hill country and the grasslands. I would expect new patterns of economic development based on mineral working, industrialization, and irrigated agriculture in Outer China. Everywhere I would expect a wide diffusion of native industry, using local mineral and other resources, within the framework of the new communes. At this point I would like to stress that one of the most striking features I saw was the penetration in depth of these new developments; deep in the heart of China the stagnation of centuries is coming to an end, old patterns of life are changing, and many of our time-worn ideas regarding the conservatism of peasant life or the problem of overpopulation in China are going to need drastic reassessment.

The Changing Economic Pattern

China today is passing through an economic revolution at a speed unparalleled in history. She doubled steel output between 1957 and 1958; in Britain it took us 35 years to push steel production from 5.1 to 10 million tons, approximately the Chinese total last year. It took us 75 years to push coal production from 120 million tons to 200 million tons; China has achieved this in one year. We must clearly revise our now outmoded and generalized ideas about the timeless, changeless East.

And if we want to understand the almost feverish energy and the

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dedication with which the people of China are throwing themselves into this gigantic task of economic development, we must keep in our minds a picture of old China—not the China of exquisite jade carvings and golden-roofed pagodas and elegant scholarship, but a country of poverty and exploitation. A country where children with swollen bellies died by the wayside and the peasants ate roots and grass; a country where the collapse of the 1911 Revolution left the peasant and factory worker at the mercy of a rapacious ruling class; a country where the gap between the rulers and the ruled was so great that $6 billion of American aid failed to ensure the survival of a corrupt and despised regime.

It is fashionable among those who deplore revolution, especially revolution from the Left, to condemn the violence and suffering which were the birth pangs of the new society in China. It is fashionable to contrast the supposed lack of freedom in China with the freedom we enjoy; safely above the eroding tide of poverty, it is easy for us to do this. We rarely concern ourselves with "the mathematics of suffering" in pre-Liberation China—"the sum of millions hungered, of countless beings scratching the earth's surface for a pittance, of children prematurely dead, of men and women prematurely aged, and minds acquiescent and fettered by superstition." Yet until we do so we can have no understanding of the processes of change in China.

The motives for development are simple—as one Chinese put it, "When I was 10, I was working 14 hours on the night shift in a Shanghai cotton mill. I am determined that my son and my grandchildren will never have to go through that."

The Changing Pattern of Agriculture

I was particularly interested in the changing pattern of Chinese agriculture and I spent a great deal of my time in the Chinese countryside. I was aware that the Chinese countryside was one of the most crowded on earth, and many books had told me about the overpopulation of China. I recalled the judgment of William Vogt, chief of the Conservation Section of the Pan-American Union, who wrote: "There is little hope that the world will escape the horror of extensive famines in China within the next few years." Vogt, living in a reasonably well nourished country, could contemplate this prospect calmly and added "From the world point of view [i.e. from the Western point of view] these may not only be desirable but indispensable." I was also aware that a great deal of the Communist success in China was

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due to their skillful handling of the agrarian problem and that they claimed to be moving towards a solution of China's food problem. I was eager to see what had been done in this field and, above all, to see some of the new people's communes at work. Largely owing to the help of fellow geographers in China, I was able to visit a range of communes in different parts of the country and to discuss the achievements in agriculture with both commune members and scientists from several universities.

The achievements in agriculture are staggering. Grain output has doubled since last year and it is now claimed that China has fundamentally solved her food problem. Soybean yields increased 60 percent since last year; yields of peanuts, sesame, and cotton doubled. The land, it is now claimed, "will yield as much as man dares to make it." Developments such as these, in a world whose people are hungrier than in 1939, are potentially of major importance; they have, or will have very soon, political implications which will affect the whole of south and southeast Asia.

These achievements have been made possible by change in both the social and technological fields. Agriculture in old China suffered from two sets of problems: firstly, there were the limitations of the physical environment, such as poor soils and shortness of the growing season; secondly, there were the problems which were basically social and economic, such as the inequality of land distribution and the exploitation of the peasant by the landlord class. The two groups of problems are interrelated, for the first group of problems, whose solution calls for a technological revolution, could not be tackled until a satisfactory institutional framework had been provided. You will recall that in northwest Europe it was not until we radically changed our land tenure system by enclosure that the agricultural progress of the eighteenth century became possible.

Land reform, giving the land to the tiller, initiated the social revolution in the Chinese countryside. The development of cooperatives resulted in more economical units of management and helped to remove some of the social and economic barriers to expanding productivity. For some purposes, such as flood control or major development projects, the cooperative was, however, too small a unit. Consequently, they were last year merged into a series of giant communes, often co-extensive with a whole Chinese county. Some figures will give the picture with precision—in 1957, the 110 million peasant families of China were organized into some 700,000 farm cooperatives.

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By the end of November, 1958, 98 percent of these had merged to form 25,000 people's communes.

The average size of a commune is thus about 20,000 people; one visited near Peking had a peasant population of 40,000, an area of about 10,000 acres, and contained 129 villages; another near Chengtu consisted of 48 cooperatives; it had a population of 52,000, 40 primary schools, 286 dining halls, 282 nurseries, and 4 small health clinics; it included 250 small industrial units, ranging from woodworking establishments to small chemical plants. The commune, then, is an agricultural unit, a social unit organizing school and welfare services; it is also, as we shall see later, an industrial unit. But, above all, it provides an institutional framework within which improved agricultural techniques can be applied.

Meanwhile, on the communes, increased productivity means a sharp rise in levels of living, a rise expressed in new housing, new school buildings, and investment in producer goods such as tractors. The Chinese peasantry, one quarter of humanity, are emerging from the corroding poverty depicted in the novels of Pearl Buck. For centuries bowed down in backbreaking toil, prisoners of a stagnating agricultural system, they are now lifting up their heads and asserting their capacity to dominate their environment, to bend it to their needs. Man is now an "ecologic dominant." The eventual outcome is seen by one Chinese writer in the following terms: "With yield per acre rising sharply, China will gradually reduce the area of land devoted to food crops. Hopei Province has already decided to reduce the cultivated area by a half within 2 or 3 years when grain yields per acre are expected to reach 6 to 9 tons. More land will be allocated to forestry, animal husbandry, and fisheries. . . . When the per acre yield reaches 30 tons, less than 35 million acres will be needed for the upkeep of 650 million people. Then the entire country will be transformed into a huge garden."

The Changing Pattern of Industry

In agriculture we have one of the traditional faces of China, a face rejuvenated but with many old features—skill and patience and prodigality in use of labor—still recognizable. China's expanding industry represents another face of reality—a face still partly traditional and peasant but increasingly sophisticated and modern.

Industry in old China was developed on only a small scale; the Chinese peasant might, indeed, have been likened to a beggar sitting

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unknowing above a vein of gold-bearing quartz. The organization of Chinese society, the disintegration of Chinese life following the impact of the West, tended to hamstring industrialization. Such industry as did develop did so in the Treaty Ports where the industrialist, Chinese and foreign, could enjoy the advantages of relative security and an abundant and shockingly underpaid labor force. Industry was almost nonexistent in the interior; here there was little to relieve the drab and monotonous poverty of a stagnating economy. Tawney's description of old China as "a beggar's mantle fringed with gold" aptly characterizes the situation before liberation.

China, nevertheless, has all the essentials for large-scale industry. Her mountains are studded with metallic minerals, including some of the biggest iron ore deposits in the world. Coal is widely distributed and the downwarped rocks of Outer China are rich in oil. Her great rivers could provide abundant water power. She has vast labor resources and her peasant masses, released from the shackling fetters of low productivity, could provide an equally vast market.

Since 1952 a planned policy of industrialization is changing the map of China. The old coastal centers such as Shanghai are continuing to expand while deep in the interior, from Sinkiang and Kansu in the northwest to Yunnan in the southwest, new industrial bases are being developed at a pace which, as far as I know, is without parallel in the economic history of any country. Between 1952 and 1957 the average rate of expansion of industrial output has climbed sharply. Total industrial output in the third quarter of 1958 was double that of the corresponding period of the previous year; if we compare 1958 with 1957 month by month, and take the value of industrial output of each month of 1957 as 100, the figures for the first nine months of 1958 are as follows: 114, 118, 129, 142, 146, 155, 174, 201, and 217. In other words, January 1958 output was 14 percent above the output of January 1957, while September 1958 output was 117 percent above the output of September 1957.

The new pattern of industry is a planned pattern based on five guiding principles: (1) The siting of industry near raw materials and fuel sources to eliminate transport, e.g. location of textile mills in cotton-growing areas. (2) The achievement of a better balance of agriculture and industry within each region. (3) The raising of the economic level of minority regions to end the former wide inequalities between these regions and the rest of China. (4) The achievement of a degree of regional specialization to lessen China's dependence on

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foreign countries. (5) The locating of new heavy industries away from the exposed and vulnerable coastal regions.

There is a strong emphasis on heavy industry and producer goods of all types such as machine tools. At the same time, there is an increasing range of industrial products, a feature very strikingly underlined by the Exhibition of Light Industries at Canton and the National Exhibition of Industry and Communications at Peking. The former featured a wide range of specialized goods, ranging from pharmaceuticals to electrical and optical goods, as well as high grade textiles and knitwear. I make no claims to any specialized industrial knowledge, but found the finish and quality of the products most impressive. The Peking Exhibition featured the newest and most striking achievements of modern industry in China—electric locomotives, hydraulic presses, steam turbine-generators, precision lathes, cars, and tractors. The Exhibitions confirmed the impression I had formed while visiting the rapidly expanding cities of China—that a new major and industrial nation was entering the international market. Later, in Hong Kong and Singapore, the shops showed the first portents of things to come—optical goods, cashmere sweaters and the like, cheap and of an irreproachable high quality.

Two other aspects of industrialization may be referred to briefly. Firstly, the pressure which a developing agriculture is exerting on industry. To take but two examples: the expansion of irrigation is going to call for irrigation machinery totalling 15 million horse power; mechanization of farming, when it gets under way, will call for at least half a million tractors and some 20 million tractor-drawn implements. Expansion is essential if the machine-building industry is to play an effective role in the accelerating technical revolution. The second aspect is the way in which industrialization is advancing on many fronts—large-scale, medium-scale, and small-scale or native-style industries are all contributing to the advance. I saw many examples of this. One way of multiplying machine building plants is for the larger units to build smaller units with their own resources—as the people call it in peasant idiom, "laying eggs": thus the Chengtu Machine Tool Plant has "hatched" several small factories. Another example of this multiple advance is the development of small, native-style blast furnaces. These use the scattered local resources of iron and coal and are now a familiar sight in the Chinese countryside. By November there were 700,000 of such furnaces, scattered over the

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countryside; they produce a crude pig iron which is worked up into farm tools on the commune and have the advantage of minimizing transportation costs and absorbing surplus labor or the seasonal surplus of labor whose employment has always been a major problem in China. Industry has come to the Chinese countryside in many forms—and with it the possibility of lifting forever the burden of poverty and of breaking down the old barriers between countryman and townsman, between farmer and factory worker, between the minority peoples and the Han people. Industry uplifts; it also unifies.

Conclusion

My impressions? A country still poor by western standards but with a rising level of living. Crowded counters in the shops and a surprising range of goods to buy. Children healthy, well cared for, and happy. A people working with an energy and a dedication unseen elsewhere—with the visible results of their efforts in the shape of new schools and flats and factories to spur them on. A people dedicated to peace, engaged in a vast war against poverty, in a campaign to reshape their environment that will take years to complete. All the long range development plans I saw rest on the fundamental assumption of peace; without peace they would be little more than "A tale told by an idiot, signifying nothing." A country united by strong ties of fellowship with the other countries of the socialist camp, placed by the West in an economic and intellectual quarantine which is defeating its own ends. I do not think of China as a competing ground for Western and socialist concepts of life—that is quite unrealistic—but I do feel we could learn from China's experience and at the same time contribute to China something of our own experience in many fields. We cannot shut our eyes to the reality that is China; for, whether we like it or not, China is going to exert growing influence in world affairs, above all in the affairs of our Pacific world. What we can do is to recognize the realities of the Chinese situation and seek to build up a mutually advantageous flow of goods and ideas between China and the West. The opportunity is there for us to take; it may not occur again; to neglect it would be both a folly and a tragedy.

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DAY OF DECAY

BY JEANNE RIHA

America is sick with an ailment that no sputniks or rockets or missiles will cure. The malady is intellectual and moral decay.

To speak of "meeting the Soviet challenge" with crash programs and superficial changes is preposterous. Any real reform will have to strike at rotted roots so deep that the whole underpinning of society will be shaken.

Better education will not be achieved entirely, or even significantly, with better buildings, more adequate teachers, or proper curricula. It will also require combating the anti-intellectual distractions of television, cars, emphasis on "fun" as the goal of life, and overemphasis on sex in the total culture. It will necessitate substituting the search for truth for patriotic jargon in the classroom. It will require parental recognition of the value of scholarly, nonmaterial achievement.

Every one of these conditions implies a sharp departure from recent American practice, and some changes would require turning the culture upside down. The automobile mania is a carefully cultivated phenomenon that reflects the fact that one of every seven jobs in the country is in motor transport industries and one of every six businesses is automotive. De-emphasis on cars, therefore, would threaten the economy as much as it would enhance intellectuality.

To make television more educational for youth as well as adults would require reversing the overwhelming business bias in favor of continually lowering program standards to reach the least common denominator of interest. For business sponsorship to reverse itself and upgrade programs would reveal a trust in human mentality that none of the mass media, least of all TV, has shown.

If education should decide to titillate students' brains, it might start an intellectual upheaval it could not stop. If searching inquiry were encouraged in every field, the *status quo* could be imperiled. Society would be confronted with the intellectual nonconformity it has struggled so hard and so successfully to squelch.

Miss Riha, who lives in Southern California, has recently completed a book-length study of American society and American culture. This article is the concluding chapter.

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So it seems likely that unless we are willing to go all the way in opening up society to change, there will be no significant change. Much of our culture is built on our economic system. If the inanities of singing jingles and shouted commercials were stopped, an economy based on surplus consumption would surely suffer. If we were to become a more thoughtful society, more interested in ideas than gadgets, we very likely would become less gullible customers. Studies have shown that the best educated element is least likely to buy on the installment plan. If we should become too smart to be taken in by advertising's snob appeal and too moral to put material values first, we would be in danger of finding ourselves with a permanently deflated economy and a lower standard of living.

We can have a system capable of competing successfully with Russia. It would be a system genuinely intellectual and democratic. I do not think we are willing to pay that price. Our response to Russia's scientific advances indicates that we are not. This response has been overwhelmingly military. We are attempting to take the easy way out of the dilemma of keeping abreast of a rising competitive state. The easy way is to attempt to reduce the many-sided competition to one field, that of weapons and education for weapons.

As earlier sections have shown, we are deficient in other fields of knowledge and organization required in world competition: serious mass communications, adult education, liberal arts, foreign affairs understanding, political leadership. Only by progress in these areas can we take advantage of the respite that military security provides. This time should be used to discover correct policies and implement them. Instead we are ignoring these needs of education and action and are frittering away valuable time. As a result, the United States already lags so far behind many foreign nations in its response to changing times that retreat to Fortress America may be forced upon this country by rebellious allies.

The obsession with military science which is fastening its hold on us will probably do no more than create a narrower and more technological society. This will not be a genuinely scientific society dedicated to a search for causes and for truth. It will be a mechanistic society that places its faith increasingly in machines and weapons. Such an America will hold little appeal for Western Europe and most uncommitted nations—or for many Americans.

Intellectual and moral decay has been accelerated by the success of our economic system. Earning a living in many fields is too

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easy to necessitate mental exertion. Low standards prevail in occupations from journalism and education to auto mechanics and shoe repairs. Striving for a pinnacle of performance is unnecessary, sometimes objectionable. An assistant city editor of my acquaintance reprimanded over-eager reporters, asking if they were bucking for the editorship. His comments were not entirely facetious. Poor products, from bread to automobiles, are tolerated by a population that holds itself up to no high standards of workmanship.

Prosperity and indolence have not trained Americans for the role of critic they must play to secure the reversal of dangerous trends. A commercial society softened by success has prepared the public for the comfortable role of consumer and of escapist spectator. Faced with the need to become critics of leadership and dissenters against certain trends, the people are not intellectually fitted or psychologically attuned for the task. It is not surprising that they shrink from it in apathy.

The nation's intellectual and moral decay is illustrated also by the witchhunt now ending. Intellectually, the witchhunt was the idiot's way of coping with a troubled postwar scene. It assumed all problems would be solved if scapegoats could be found at home for the genuine difficulties facing us abroad. Today most domestic leftists are mute or politically isolated, but the international problems are graver than ever.

Morally, few institutions and relatively few individuals faced up to the challenge McCarthyism posed to personal integrity and to national political traditions. Spines were weak even among intellectuals. To youth, seeking moral-intellectual leadership, how many professors offered a courageous example against hysterical nationalism? A few stalwarts did. Most kept their opposition secret and prattled pointlessly of the glories of the Roosevelt years as the world of the 1940s and 1950s fell around them. Despite their education and prestige they did not consider the responsibility for a sane society to be theirs. Small wonder the academic world complains today that money and security are the first idols of youth.

Among the American people generally, morality was no more evident during the witchhunt. Gullibility fused with generalized fear to produce an indifference to the fate of accused persons. America, unlike Japan, has not been swept by revulsion against her sins of nationalist hysteria. She has exhibited no agitations of conscience, offered no public testimonials that she has learned her lessons and will not again err.

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In the name of "realism" Congress shouts approval of the missiles race. The public applauds, objecting only to the foreign aid provision in the President's "peace through strength" message on the State of the Union. So "realistic" and "practical" are these policies of strength that the horrendous weapons they stockpile cannot be used without mutual disaster. Not only unwise and phantasmal, this "realism" is so immoral as to be capable of appealing only to an utterly depraved population.

The United States society of technology, commercialism, and materialism that has emerged in recent years is the antithesis of the humane-intellectual approach so desperately needed for our own welfare and that of the world.

From what quarters shall come leadership for that humane-intellectual society in the face of laggard institutions, unimaginative political parties, personal privatism, anti-intellectualism, expedient intellectuals, a numbing prosperity, and an encompassing materialism?

A new political party based on liberal and humane principles could win support of foreign intellectuals and even of whole foreign peoples. It is doubtful if it could win over American voters. A great leader might win the presidency, but even such a triumph would be only a temporary breathing space in a prolonged ideological conflict that depends ultimately on the vitality of the people, its institutions and its culture. That these are all but rotten is my regretful conclusion.

. . . . Instead of thinking of our democracy as something which is final and complete, and therefore belonging essentially to the past, we would think of it as a growing and developing vision, belonging essentially to the future. We would know that it cannot be guarded behind a radar screen, but must be shared freely and dangerously with all men, whose contribution is also needed for the realization of the vision. We would discover again the wisdom of Jefferson that error may be tolerated, as long as truth remains free to combat it. Any nation which, in this fear-ridden age, had the courage to trust the democratic process instead of bartering democracy for the illusory security of an atomic stockpile would speak with undreamed power to enslaved men the world over.

—American Friends Service Committee, *Speak Truth To Power.*

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Time of Troubles

These are troubled days for people in the United States. Not since the Russian Revolution of 1917 have they been so disturbed and distraught. The object of their disturbance and distress? People's China, of course, especially since the communes were organized during 1958.

Before the Russian Revolution there were only a few random warnings of the upsets that lay ahead. In the dozen cold war years, beginning with 1947, the people of the United States have been subjected to a terrifying brainwashing that makes the Hitler-Goebbels brand look like a poor imitation. The slogan of the purge has been: "Communism is the embodiment of evil; beware of anyone with the slightest taint of it."

Official Washington has shouldered the task of protecting the minds and morals of United States citizens by authorizing post offices to select and segregate printed matter which originates outside the "free" world. We receive publications from a dozen such countries. So far as we can learn, all of this printed matter is impounded and searched at the ports of entry. If the examining clerk decides that it is "propaganda" we get a notice which reads: "The following publications, addressed to you, are being held in this post office. If you desire to receive them, please indicate your intention by returning this card to the post office. . . . If this card is not received at the post office within 15 days from the date stamped thereon, the publications listed will be disposed of as non-mailable under the law." We have been getting such notices for several months from New York, San Francisco, and Buffalo.

There are two interesting things about these postage-free cards which we must return to the post offices. On the card, in plain sight of any snooper, is listed the name or names of the suspect publications, side by side with the signature of the addressee. Further, the post office is in no hurry to deliver this mail. We have been getting copies

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of such magazines as the weekly Peking Review six months after the date of their publication. Instead of delivering printed mail from abroad, the United States post office is busy with a censor's job of reading the mail and segregating the "propaganda."

Side by side with this official mail-searching, heart-searching is going on all over the country wherever people are considering the pros and cons of the Eurasian efforts at socialist construction. The crudest and probably the most widespread reactions are horror and fear. A letter from a mid-West clergyman long past his three-score-and-ten allotment: "Recently I read from your book, *The Brave New World,* to two ladies, friends of mine, who are both ordinarily most kind and intelligent. One of these asked me to stop. She could no longer bear to listen. The other became very angry and used bitter words towards me as a priest, that I should believe anything good of 'that most godless slave camp called People's China.' I much fear that the Oligarchy leading us today has captured the hearts of many millions and filled them with utter hate toward New China and New Russia. Do not Eisenhower and Dulles regard the leaders of New China as demons incarnate?"

Among thinking people, the reactions are of a different sort. There are those who enthuse about anything and everything Chinese. There are also those who say: "But they are not doing it *our* way." After an exchange of letters, we wrote to a member of this second group:

> In the past few years I have been in India and China. In India there are beginnings and gropings toward a new social pattern. China, however, in the words of Mao, "has turned over and stood up." On all sides, among all ages and conditions, China is on the move. There is crackle and sparkle. The eyes of the people are alight. They see a vision. They are going places. Even in the most backward villages changes are being made or projected. We had a letter from China yesterday describing the steps being taken by a remote commune to electrify their communal kitchen. A few years ago in China there was the same disarray, disorder, disorganization, and apathy that we saw in India. India still has its job ahead. In China we saw achievement and fulfilment.
>
> You keep referring to "reconciliation between Communism and the values I hold dear." This seems to me to be a rather sterile approach. You are comparing and contrasting ideologies—playing with concepts. My approach is quite different. Given the conditions in India, China et al, how do we (or they) proceed

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toward productiveness, stability, balance, creativeness, or, in the language of the West, toward life, liberty, and happiness? The answers will be different for different parts of the world, but one thing is sure: it will take time and effort. At each step there is the possibility of error. Mistakes and bad guesses are to be expected, but ignorance, inertia, complacency, sabotage, and corruption are inexcusable.

It took the people of North America 250 years to get from colonial times to this present phase of their collective life. Other peoples will require generations, maybe centuries. Sound theory and masterful practice are both necessary. The important thing is that people keep trying to overcome the obstacles and secure the advances related to their particular situations.

Trouble at Home

United States citizens need not go abroad looking for trouble. There is plenty at home, where the economy is suffering not merely from depression but from stagnation.

Three times, since the war's end in 1945, the United States economy has had a mild paralytic stroke. The third seizure, which came in July, 1957, was more severe than those of 1949 and 1953.

The 1957 seizure was no "sneak attack." It came under the glare of klieg-light publicity. Americans remember the economic desolation of the 1930s. They are well aware that cyclical economic downturns have followed major and even minor wars. Postwar Washington administrations, fully alive to the possibilities of a major economic recession and depression, have united with business and the public relations corps to build stabilizers into the economy and to adopt the psychological measures necessary to reassure and encourage public opinion.

Exposed to public scrutiny, from abroad as well as at home, the masters of capitalist America, with their hands on the controls, have been helpless to prevent three recessions in ten years. The first began in 1949, the second in 1953. The third, the worst of the lot, began in 1957.

After each downturn, government and business spokesmen assured their constituents that permanent prosperity was just around the corner. Even while they were speaking, the few months of "boom" gave place to the next cycle of "bust." Promises, slogans, and built-in stabilizers all failed to guarantee continued economic expansion against the ravages of the business cycle.

Federal Reserve Board estimates of the physical volume of in-

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dustrial production (1947-1949=100) stood at 143 for 1957 and 134 for 1958. At the lowest point, in April and May 1958, the production index touched 127, twenty-one points below the high mark of 148 in February and March of 1957.

Business slowdown in late 1957 and early 1958 partially paralyzed the economy. At the low points, half of the steel and auto producing capacity of the United States stood idle. Other heavy and mass-production industries suffered somewhat less severe curtailment. While management and its staff of white collar workers held their jobs and drew their salaries, workers were laid off wholesale. Official figures put the number of unemployed at more than five million. Other millions were working part time.

Losses were unequally distributed. Some industries and some cities were much worse off than others. Steel production, soft coal mining, oil production, and auto manufacturing suffered particularly. Detroit, with one worker out of eight unemployed, had 200,000 workless. Of these, 75,000 had exhausted their unemployment benefits. In Harlan County, Kentucky, a center of the soft coal industry, 38,000 persons were listed as destitute. Even cities with diversified industries, like Buffalo, felt the pinch of hardship. The *Wall Street Journal* of March 27, 1959, in a front page article headed "Beleaguered Buffalo," gave details of the desperate economic plight of the area. Nineteen thousand residents of Erie County, which includes Buffalo, were dependent upon federal rations of surplus foods. "There is no question that Buffalo's troubles are severe," the article notes. "Approximately 64,000 persons—12 percent of the work force—are unemployed. This compares with less than 7 percent for the nation as a whole and equals Detroit's jobless percentage."

There is another aspect of the economic situation that is even more alarming than this jerky, short-range boom-bust cycle. During recent years the average annual gain of United States industrial productivity has slipped down to a bit over one percent. But the industrial production for 1958 (134) was exactly the same as that for 1953, five years earlier. The record of the past five years is one not of expansion but of stagnation.

During those five years, United States population increased by nine percent and producers' investment in durable equipment (productive capacity) increased by $145 billion. The physical volume of production in 1958 was at the level that it occupied in 1953.

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What Caused the Breakdown?

Several factors led into the 1957 recession. The ill-considered expansion had built up productivity far in excess of market demand. Auto manufacturing, largest of United States industries, turned out nearly eight million cars in 1955. The 1958 market absorbed slightly more than four million cars. To make matters worse, rapidly increasing imports of small, low-gas-consumption foreign cars were taking a share of this shrunken market.

Perhaps even more important was the bad business judgment of the unimaginative chief executives of the industry. They argued that since auto production had increased in the past from 1.9 million in 1920 to 2.7 million in 1930, 3.7 million in 1940, 6.7 million in 1950, and 7.9 million in 1955, that therefore it would go on increasing in the years ahead. They seemed blissfully unaware of the danger of a glutted market. All they had to do, in order to raise profits, was to make cars bigger, showier, more expensive, and up the prices, first producing an annual model, then, like the clothiers, getting out a spring model, a fall model, and perhaps a winter sport model and a summer vacation model. By 1956 the auto bigwigs had ridden this hobbyhorse nearly to death. Sales fell from 7.9 million cars in 1955 to 5.8 million in 1956. Sales in 1957 were 6.1 million, and 4.2 million in 1958.

Steel, glass, and other industries suffered from the drastic cutbacks of auto production. Soft coal, another industry in distress, found itself in active competition with oil, gas, and hydroelectric energy. It was these basic industries that bore the first brunt of the 1957 recession.

Whatever the specific reasons behind the distress of various heavy and mass-production industries, there was one inescapable fact applying to all of them: industrial production was increasing faster than consuming power. In 1929, at the prosperity peak, gross national product was $104 billion, while disposable personal income was $83 billion, leaving a gap of $21 billion. In 1957, at the prosperity peak, gross product was $440 billion and disposable personal income was $305 billion, leaving a gap of $135 billion, which was more than six times the 1929 gap. Further, in 1957, consumers chose to save $20 billion of their income, which made the actual gap between production and consumer spending $155 billion. If consumers could not buy or would not buy a third of the 1957 gross product, who was to take that surplus third off the market?

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Investments in producer capital goods ranged from $20 billion to $27 billion per year during the 1950s. A good share of these investments went into the production of automatic or partly automatic machinery. Consequently, per-man productivity increased. Auto production rose from 6.7 cars per worker per year to 8.1 cars. Coal miners dug 1,375 tons per man in 1948 and 2,016 tons per man in 1958. In one industry after another, machinery increased per-worker production. Since the economy during this period was relatively stagnant, with an increasing gap between production and consumer spending, workers grew less secure in their jobs. Even an upturn in production left the men and women displaced by automatic machinery, looking for jobs which had ceased to exist.

This is no new experience. Thirty years ago, depressed industries and depressed areas existed in Britain and Germany, the two chief capitalist nations of Western Europe. Up to a certain point in the life of an economy based on capital accumulation and reinvestment, depressions are periodic. Then, for certain industries, they become chronic. Some of the same industries that are distress areas in the United States in 1959 were distress areas in Britain and Germany thirty years ago. They have passed through the cycle of expansion, prosperity, and periodic depression into chronic depression.

Government subsidy, arms spending, and war destruction and replacement offer temporary relief. But beneath these salves and poultices the deep-seated causative forces are at work: private ownership of the productive forces, yielding the owner profits which he turns into excess productive capacity in the greedy search for more profit.

The temper of soldiers, habituated at once to violence and to slavery, renders them very unfit guardians of a legal or even a civil constitution.

—Edward Gibbon, *Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire*

Uniforms, vestments, robes, maces, diadems, retinues, pageants, processions, canon salutes and codes of etiquette are artificial awe producers to give authority to persons who are not natural awe producers.

—George Bernard Shaw

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WHERE WE STAND

BY THE EDITORS

During the early years of the 20th century the subject of socialism was widely and eagerly discussed in the United States. Eugene V. Debs, socialist candidate for president, polled close to 1,000,000 votes in 1912—the equivalent of approximately 3,000,000 votes in the 1948 election. The popular interest in socialism was reflected in an enormous sale of socialist literature. *The Appeal to Reason,* a weekly, had a circulation of more than 300,000 for several years; pamphlets by Oscar Ameringer were printed in editions of hundreds of thousands; books by Bellamy, Upton Sinclair, and Jack London ranked with the best-sellers of the day.

This widespread interest in socialism has declined to such an extent that today it would probably not be an exaggeration to say that for the great majority of Americans "socialism" is little more than a dirty word. This is an extraordinary situation because it occurs at the very moment that a large proportion of the rest of the world is moving toward socialism at an unprecedentedly rapid rate. It is a deeply disturbing situation because there are still many Americans who believe with us that, in the long run, socialism will prove to be the only solution to the increasingly serious economic and social problems that face the United States.

It is because we hold firmly to this belief that we are founding MONTHLY REVIEW, an independent magazine devoted to analyzing, from a socialist point of view, the most significant trends in domestic and foreign affairs.

By "socialism" we mean a system of society with two fundamental characteristics: first, public ownership of the decisive sectors of the economy, and second, comprehensive planning of production for the benefit of the producers themselves.

The possibility and workability of such a system of society are no longer open to doubt. Socialism became a reality with the introduction of the first Five Year Plan in Soviet Russia in 1928;

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its power to survive was demonstrated by the subsequent economic achievements of the USSR during the '30s, and finally, once and for all, in the war against Nazi Germany. These facts—and they are facts which no amount of wishful thinking can conjure away—give to the USSR a unique importance in the development of socialism and in the history of our time.

We find completely unrealistic the view of those who call themselves socialists, yet imagine that socialism can be built on an international scale by fighting it where it already exists. This is the road to war, not to socialism. On the other hand, we do not accept the view that the USSR is above criticism simply because it is socialist. We believe in, and shall be guided by, the principle that the cause of socialism has everything to gain and nothing to lose from a full and frank discussion of shortcomings, as well as accomplishments, of socialist countries and socialist parties everywhere.

We shall follow the development of socialism all over the world, but we want to emphasize that our major concern is less with socialism abroad than with socialism at home. We are convinced that the sooner the United States is transformed from a capitalist to a socialist society, the better it will be, not only for Americans, but for all mankind.

We believe that there are already many Americans who share this attitude with us and that their number will steadily increase. We ask for their financial support, their assistance in extending our circulation, and their advice as to how MONTHLY REVIEW can best serve the cause of socialism in the United States.

Clarity about the aims and problems of socialism is of greatest significance in our age of transition. Since, under present circumstances, free and unhindered discussion of these problems has come under a powerful taboo, I consider the founding of this magazine to be an important public service.

PROFESSOR ALBERT EINSTEIN
in his article "Why Socialism?" in Vol. I, No. 1

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(*continued from inside front cover*)

Old-timers will mourn the death, in April, of Sarah Cleghorn, Socialist, poet, pacifist, and fighter for all the causes that engaged the sympathies of humanitarians in the first half of this century. In the literature against child labor, her four-line poem, "The Golf Links," remains unforgettable:

The golf links lie so near the mill
That almost every day
The laboring children can look out
And see the men at play.

On April 21 news came from South Africa that the indictment against 61 of the defendants in the "treason trial" had been quashed—but, said the New York Times, "a decision on their possible reindictment is up to the government." This is the government whose former Prime Minister Strijdom made plain the alleged crime of the accused when he said "Anyone who works against *apartheid* is guilty of treason." The trial against the remaining 30 defendants has been postponed until August 3. Money to pay legal costs and provide support for the families involved in this three-year struggle is urgently needed. Send contributions to the South Africa Defense Fund, 4 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.

Funds are needed, too, for the defense of John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman, the defendants in the USA's own "treason trial." These journalists wrote the truth as they saw it about the Korean War, but their truth was not to the liking of the inquisitors in the political atmosphere of the Cold War who charged them with "seditious" writing and publishing. Failure to convict has now been followed with a new charge—"treason." Send contributions to Powell-Schuman Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1808, San Francisco 1, California.

A new journal, *Studies on the Left,* has just been launched "to provide an opportunity for students who are socially concerned to express their ideas and the results of their researches." Though not connected with any political organization, the journal has a socialist orientation. It will pay $30 for articles and $10 for book reviews. Address: P. O. Box 2121, Madison 5, Wis.

Requests for tickets to the MR Tenth Anniversary Meeting have begun to pour in. We have taken a large, beautiful hall and we expect a capacity crowd, so assure yourself a seat by ordering your tickets right away. Bring your friends; details in the box below.

Monthly Review Associates—10th Anniversary Meeting

PAUL A. BARAN—Marxism and Psychoanalysis
STANLEY MOORE—Marxism and Culture

Chairman: J. RAYMOND WALSH

Date: Tuesday, May 19, 8:30 P.M. Sharp
Place: New York Center, 227 W. 46 Street, New York

Admission: $1 in advance . . . $1.50 at the door . . . Associates free

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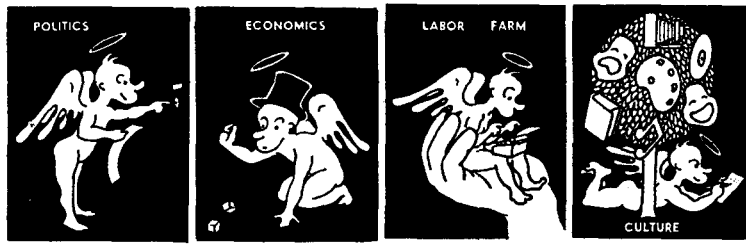

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